

The Political Economy of Green Energy



Iftikhar Lodhi

Assistant Professor

Graduate School of Public Policy

July 12, 2017

Outline

- Climate Change
- Cost-Benefit Considerations
- Instrument Choice and Policy Design
- Carbon Pricing and Feed-in-Tariff
- Policy Design Considerations
- Conclusion

The Case for Green Energy

- Climate Change
- Pollution
- Energy Security
- Technological advancements and increasing awareness making green energy economically viable and politically acceptable

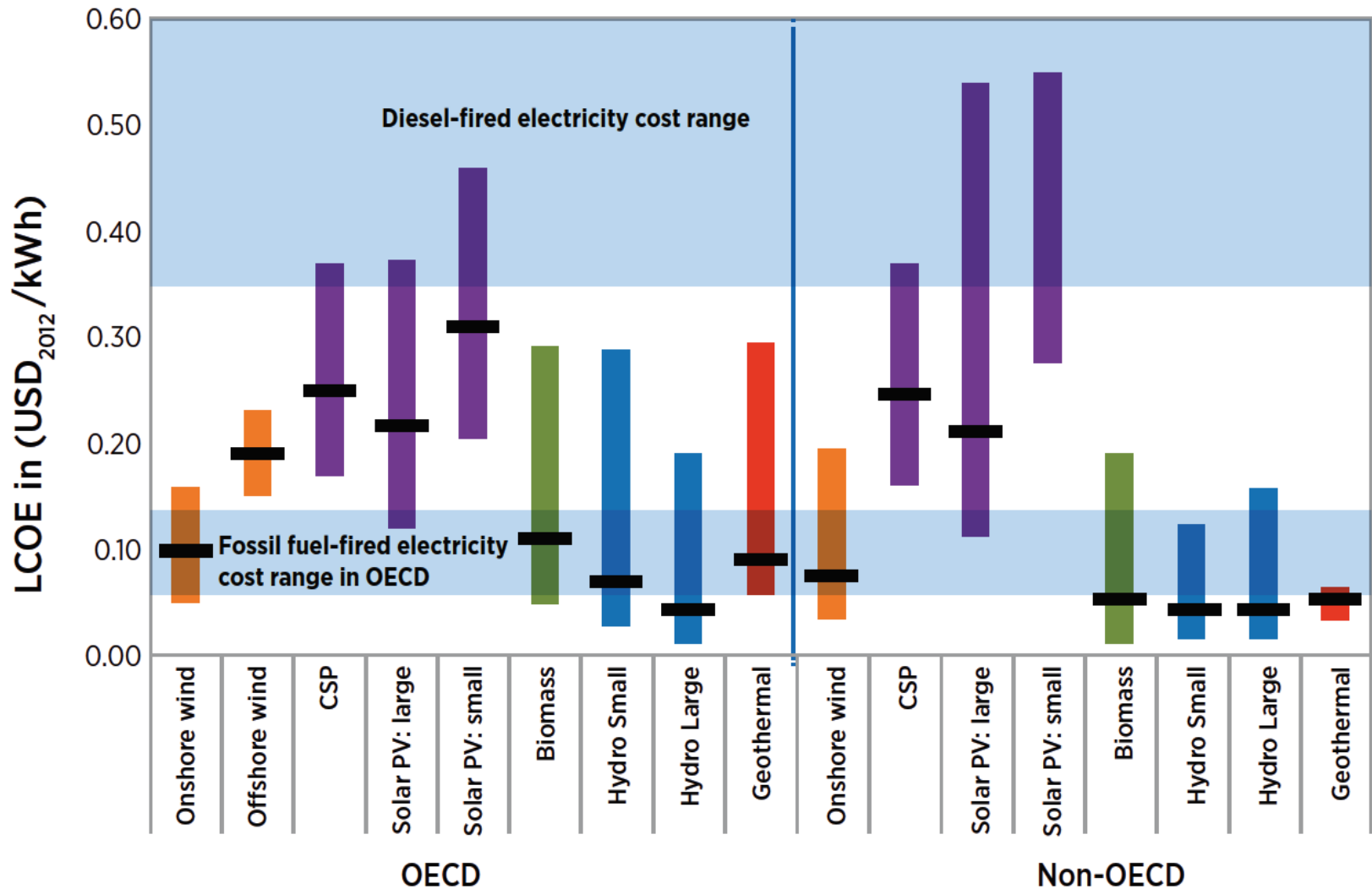


A Simple Cost-Benefit for Policy Objectives Very Low to Very High (1 – 5)

Source	Environmental Impact	Capital Investment	Marginal Cost	Political Un-Acceptance	Technological Hurdles	Total
Coal	5	3	3	3	1	3
Oil	4	3	4	3	1	3
Gas	3	3	3	2	2	2.6
Hydro	2	5	1	4	2	2.8
Nuclear	2	5	1	5	3	3.2
Biomass /Biofuel	2	2	2	2	1	1.8
Wind	1	4	1	1	4	2.2
Solar	1	4	1	1	4	2.2
Wave/ Tidal	1	5	1	1	4	2.4



Levelized Cost of Electricity



Instrument Choice

- Markets alone will not respond or will be too slow to meet the challenges of climate change and energy security, markets need “nudge”
- Treasury – feed in tariff
- Regulation – carbon pricing
- Information – raise political unacceptability of Coal and Oil and acceptability of Nuclear & Hydro
- All three instruments work best in tandem and when well designed in order to internalize externalities and share rents/costs in equitable way

Policy Design Issues

- Policy makers across the world generally give in to the pressures from concentrated interest groups and spread the costs of policy design indirectly to diffused population, resulting in:
 - Quantity (cap-and-trade) regulation narrowly targeted over direct pricing (carbon tax) broadly
 - Feed-in-tariff payed from large tax-base
 - Cancelling nuclear and hydro options
 - Redistribution of rents

Policy Design Issues

- Since carbon pricing is a highly contentious issue, lack of certainty and ideological dispositions play a critical role such as:
 - Exact expected environmental impact
 - Unequal distribution of the damages and benefits
 - Contributions to carbon stock vs. marginal carbon cost
 - Intergenerational discount rate
 - Liberty and Equity
- Nevertheless, estimates suggest a USD 15-90 per ton CO₂, based on various considerations
- No carbon tax or trading scheme so far has reached even close enough to these estimates

Carbon Pricing Issues

- Cap-and-trade schemes are largely ineffective, due to:
 - Caps are overly conservative in their calculations
 - Over allocation of permits
 - No price-floor
 - Regulatory capture / corruption
- Carbon tax relatively effective but controversial due to perceptions of fairness and distributional impact
- Fossil fuel lobbies exert enormous pressure in market dominated countries or state itself is involved in fossil production and consumption
- End-use energy price impact remains a politically sensitive issue, particularly in absence of targeted welfare programs (tax rebates, lump-sum payments, utility vouchers, etc) and effective demand management/energy efficiency policies

Feed-in-Tariff Issues

- FiT policies have not materialized their full potential, due to:
 - Prices offered often do not take market risk into account
 - Grid operators not cooperative despite mandatory regulation
 - Conventional generators lobby against
 - Government owned utilities often lack expertise
 - Largely focused on large investors
- FiT policies unlikely to be more effective in the absence of infrastructure overhaul and an efficient regulatory environment
- Cost of infrastructure overhaul need subsidizing
- There remain technological hurdles in commercializing renewables for which not all countries need to jump in the “innovation” and “R & D” bandwagon

Policy Design Considerations

- Subsidies to the renewable sector in absence of carbon pricing is only effective minimally
- Carbon pricing alone is not sufficient either
- More importantly, revenues from carbon pricing shall be directly linked to the subsidies, in order to avoid distributional distortions
- Carbon tax far more effective than cap-and-trade
- End-user needs targeted welfare programs
- Both the above policies work best along with policies that reduce energy demand and increase efficiency
- Policy makers shall work on increasing political acceptability of Nuclear and Hydro and unacceptability of Coal & Oil



NAZARBAYEV
UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC POLICY

Thank you

Q & A